

## Message Text

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FROM SCHAUFEELE

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UK

SUBJECT: THE BRITISH MEETING WITH MACHEL

1. ROWLANDS, DUFF AND THE BRITISH AMBASSADOR MET WITH MACHEL FOR 2-1/2 HOURS ON THE MORNING OF AUGUST 31. THE CONVERSATION CONCENTRATED PRINCIPALLY ON RHODESIA.

2. MACHEL OPENED THE MEETING BY REQUESTING A CLARIFICATION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM'S POSITION ON RHODESIA. THE POINTS HE RAISED WERE AS FOLLOWS:

(A) HE WANTED ASSURANCE THE UNITED KINGDOM WOULD ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR RHODESIA.

(B) IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT THE FIGHTING IN RHODESIA STIMULATED WESTERN INTEREST IN THE PROBLEM.

(C) THE BREAKDOWN IN NEGOTIATIONS OVER RHODESIA WAS THE FAULT OF IAN SMITH -- NOT THE DIVIDED NATIONALISTS. HE WANTED TO BE SURE THAT BRITAIN CONTEMPLATED NO FURTHER

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DEALINGS WITH SMITH.

(D) IT WAS IMPORTANT TO BE CERTAIN THAT THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS WOULD BE INCLUDED IN THE FINAL SETTLEMENT AND HE

URGED THE WEST NOT TO CONSIDER THEM AS "TERRORISTS."

(E) NO "PUPPET" GOVERNMENT WOULD BE ACCEPTED.

(F) HOW FREEDOM CAME TO ZIMBABWE WOULD BE UP TO THE ZIMBABWEANS AND WOULD NOT BE THE RESPONSIBILITY OF THEIR OUTSIDE SUPPORTERS.

(G) HE NEEDED ROWLANDS WORD THAT THE UNITED KINGDOM WOULD ACCEPT THE FACT THAT THE WAR WOULD GO ON IF A SETTLEMENT WAS NOT REACHED.

3. ROWLANDS GAVE A FULL EXPOSE OF THE UNITED KINGDOM'S POSITION. THE UK SAW LITTLE OR NO ROLE FOR SMITH TO PLAY IN A PROGRAM WHICH MIGHT DEVELOP. HE ALSO ASSURED MACHEL THAT BRITAIN DID NOT EXPECT THE FIGHTING TO STOP NOW.

4. HAVING BEEN ASSURED OF BRITAIN'S BONA FIDES, MACHEL THEN FOCUSED ON THE MECHANICS OF TRANSITION AND ASKED QUESTIONS REFERRING FREQUENTLY TO FRELIMO'S EXPERIENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE. HE ASKED:

(A) WHAT "FORCE" WOULD NEGOTIATE WITH THE ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALISTS AND WHAT WOULD BE ITS STATUS? ROWLANDS REVIEWED THE SCENARIO WHICH INVOLVES THE ORGANIZATION OF A CARETAKER GOVERNMENT. THAT GOVERNMENT WOULD MOVE OUT IN A MATTER OF WEEKS BUT, ROWLANDS SAID, THE WAR WOULD GO ON IF THE NEGOTIATIONS FAILED. SMITH, HOWEVER, WOULD NOT BE PRESENT.

(B) IN RESPONSE TO MACHEL'S CONCERNS ABOUT BRITISH RESPONSIBILITY, ROWLANDS ASSURED HIM THAT THE UK WAS JURIDICALLY RESPONSIBLE FOR RHODESIA. REFERRING TO THE PORTUGUESE EXPERIENCE IN MOZAMBIQUE, MACHEL SAID HE WAS HAPPY THAT BRITAIN DID NOT PLAN TO SEND A GOVERNOR,  
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ADMINISTRATORS OR TROOPS. THEIR PRESENCE WOULD ONLY PERPETUATE THE IMAGE OF COLONIALISM AND WOULD LEAD TO FRICTION.

(C) MACHEL URGED ROWLANDS NOT TO IGNORE THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS. "IF THEY ARE NOT INVOLVED, THE WAR WILL GO ON." MOZAMBIQUE DOES NOT WISH ANOTHER ANGOLA AND IT IS "IN MOZAMBIQUE'S INTEREST THAT THERE BE NO FOREIGN

INTERVENTION IN THE AREA." ROWLANDS TOLD MACHEL THAT ALL ZIMBABWEAN TENDENCIES WOULD HAVE TO BE PRESENT BEFORE A SETTLEMENT COULD BE ACHIEVED.

(D) MACHEL EXPRESSED HIS SUSPICIONS OVER GUARANTEES FOR THE WHITE MINORITY. THESE, HE ARGUED, MIGHT BE MISUNDERSTOOD BY THE ZIMBABWEANS WHO LACK "POLITICAL MATURITY." HE WANTED TO BE ASSURED THAT THOSE WHITES WHO REMAINED EXPECTED NO SPECIAL PRIVILEGES OR POSITION. ROWLANDS ARGUED THAT IT WOULD BE UP TO THE CARETAKER GOVERNMENT TO MAKE ARRANGEMENT THAT THE BASIC RIGHTS FOR THE MINORITY WOULD BE INCLUDED IN A FINAL CONSTITUTION. AT THAT POINT, IT WOULD BE UP TO WHITES TO DECIDE IF THEY WANTED TO STAY OR TO LEAVE. ZIMBABWE'S NEW LEADERS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE A DECISION AS TO WHETHER KEEPING THE WHITE MINORITY ACTIVE IN THE NEW NATION SERVED ZIMBABWE'S INTERESTS OR NOT.

(D) MACHEL ARGUED THAT THE SHORTER THE TRANSITION, THE BETTER. OTHERWISE, THE POTENTIAL FOR ECONOMIC SABOTAGE WOULD BE GREAT. BRITAIN COULD NOT CONTROL THE SITUATION AND THE TRANSITIONAL GOVERNMENT WOULD BE TOO WEAK AND UNCERTAIN TO ACT DECISIVELY. NO MORE THAN A 12 MONTH PERIOD OF TRANSITION SHOULD BE CONTEMPLATED. SPECIAL THOUGHT, MACHEL POINTED OUT, MUST BE GIVEN TO HOW THE VARIOUS ARMED ELEMENTS -- THE RHODESIAN ARMY, CIVIL GUARD, SMITH'S BLACK AFRICAN SOLDIERS, AND THE POLICE -- COULD BE CONTROLLED OR DISARMED. HE DID NOT DISCUSS WHO WOULD POLICE RHODESIA DURING THE TRANSITION.

5. ROWLANDS CLOSED HIS REPORT BY SAYING THAT, "IT WAS IMPLICIT IN OUR CONVERSATION THAT MACHEL IS URGING US TO SEEK A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IF THE CONDITIONS ARE RIGHT."

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ROBINSON

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